

## THE DOXOLOGY OF THE SEVEN GENERALS OF ANTIOCH

BY YOUEHANNA NESSIM YOUSSEF

The Equestrian warriors constitute an integral part of Coptic art and piety<sup>1</sup>. The martyrs of Antioch, (The Basilides' Family) this group of martyrs is considered as members of a legendary royal or noble family of Basilides. There are several genealogies included in their martyrdoms but without any consistency. This group includes the martyrdoms of Claudius, Basilides, Apater and Iraie, Macarius, Eusebius, and in some texts the names of Theodore, Victor, Besamon, Justus, Apoli, Theocleia are added<sup>2</sup>. They are mentioned in the *memento sanctorum* in the Coptic Psalmodia<sup>3</sup>. In his study Winstedt shows that there is no fixed genealogy of this family<sup>4</sup>. Orlandi in the entry of the Coptic Encyclopedia used the word “Cycle” to denote this group. The text edited hereafter contains a doxology Adam<sup>5</sup> for the commemoration of the seven generals of Antioch.

Our text commemorates another group of saints.

### Description of the Manuscript

This text is included in the Manuscript Copte 69 of the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*. We will give here in full the description of this manuscript by Delaporte.

85

THÉOTOKIES ET DOXOLOGIES (*bohairique*) avec traduction arabe.

1r-24v Psalmodie. 26r-116r Psallies et Théotokies pour les sept jours de la semaine. 117r-123r Cantique des Anges. 124r-149r Doxologies (TON

<sup>1</sup> Meinardus, *Coptic Saints*, 33-37.

<sup>2</sup> Orlandi, “Hagiography”, *Copt. Enc.* IV, 1191-1197.

<sup>3</sup> Youssef, “Notes on the Magma”, 111-124.

<sup>4</sup> Winstedt, *Coptic Texts*, I-XXVII; Horn, *Untersuchungen*.

<sup>5</sup> For the doxologies cf. Abd al-Masih, “Doxologies”, 97-113; “Bihairic Doxologies I”, 31-61 and “Bihairic Doxologies II”, 95-158.

**βαθος**) en l'honneur de la Vierge, Michel, Gabriel, Raphaël, Souriel, les quatre animaux incorporels (πά οντωογν...), les vingt-quatre vieillards, saint Jean-Baptiste (2), les disciples (titre: Μιαλωογι), les apôtres les trois jeunes gens, les saints Etienne, Georges, Théodore le Stratélate, Mercure, les martyrs (titre: Ογεωογτς μη), Macaire et ses disciples, (titre: πιεωογτς ηνιαριος) les staurophores (titre: Ογγηναρωρη ηνιαριος) Elie le Thesbite, l'évangéliste Marc, la Vierge et Sévère d'Antioche. 149r-152v Deux professions de foi et symbole. 152v-186r Hymnes pour le Carême (2), le temps de la Pentecôte etc.. 187r-231v Doxologies (ton αλλαμ) en l'honneur de la Vierge (3), Michel (2), Gabriel (2), Raphaël (2) Souriel, les quatre animaux (2), les vingt-quatre vieillards (2), saint Jean-Baptiste (2), Les Innocents (2), les apôtres, les trois jeunes gens (2), Etienne (2), Georges, Théodore (2) Ménas, Victor, Philothée, les sept Stratélates, les autres martyrs (titre: Πεπι ηνιμη), Macaire le Grand, Paul, Antoine, Jean πικολοβος, Pischoi, Paul, Maxime et Domitius, Moyse le Noir, les quarante-neuf martyrs, Elie le Thesbite, Marc, la Vierge, Sévère d'Antioche.

223r-237r ογγηνατος στυχος αλλαμ. 237r-241v Synaxe (σγναρωρη), τον αλλαμ. 242r-345v Explication (ερμενια) des Théotokies. Ms. de 348 feuillets; 25x17 Sans date.

Ce manuscrit est coté au verso, en lettres coptes, de ፩ [feuillets 1] à ፻፻ [feuillets 343]; dans la pagination ፻፻ manque; ጥና and ጥኔ, ጥና and ጥኔ sont inscrits sur un même feuillet au recto et au verso. Dans la numérotation en chiffres occidentaux, un feuillet a été oublié entre 104-105.

Chaque division est précédée d'un ornement en couleurs et, au verso du feuillet précédent, d'une rosace. Titres coptes, en rouge. Le texte commence par une ligne de majuscules, accompagnée d'arabesques à la marge. Grandes majuscules à tête d'oiseau; petites majuscules en rouge ou en noir rehaussé de rouge, φ et ς ont en général un point rouge dans la boucle.

F. IV –Saint-Germain, 50.

*Invent.: Copte 69.<sup>6</sup>*

We can add to this detailed description some notes:

1. The page before the last one contains an Islamic formulation

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

“In the name of God the clement and merciful”

2. The last page contains an inventory of the kitchen and these interesting comments

الليلة نعمل بعد العشا كنافة على الصنية  
الفراخ الحمراء والضاني يشدو القلب يشد العظم والفسيخ والمدمس نبي العظم  
ويعمي البصر والسمع

<sup>6</sup> Delaporte, *Catalogue*, N 85, p. 70-71.

Tonight we will bake after dinner ‘*Kunafah*<sup>7</sup>’ on the tray.

The grilled chicken and the lamb strengthen the heart and support the bones while the salted fish and the *foul* weaken the bones and lead to blindness and deafness!

### The Text

fol. 52v

λΙΚΕΟΣ ἀληθῶς ζῆται τραπέζαις εὐτάνιογε εμαψω  
**Σεν ἀντιοχία**  
 Ι]ΟΥϹΤΟϹ πε πιψορπή νεμ βαϲιλίτηϲ νεμ εγεβιοϲ  
 νεμ μακαριοϲ  
 φηεθ ἀπατήϲ νεμ σογεννιοϲ νεμ θεωδοροϲ πι-  
 ατολεοϲ  
 οαι γαρ νε νιζη λαμ {παϲ} εγμοϲ αγερογωινι εμαψω  
**Σεν ἀντιοχία**  
 οαι γαρ νε νιζη νετγαλλοϲ ετταχρογε εγταϲωογ ερ-  
 τογ **Σεν ταγλη μπογρο**  
 οαι γαρ νε νιϲωττη νκλαտοϲ ετϲωττη εγφιρι εβολ  
 ετοπτ νκαρποϲ  
 οαι γαρ νε νιϲ μπολεμιϲτηϲ ετχορ εμαψω **Σεν**  
 νιπολεμοϲ  
 αγμιϲι εχεν πιραν ντε παϲϲ ιϲϲ αγερψαι νεμ πϲϲ  
**Σεν τεφμετογρο**  
 ζιτεν νιεγχη ντε πιϲϲ νετραϲτηϲ πϲϲ αρι.

*Truly and really seven generals* were extremely honoured in Antioch.

Justus is the first, with Basilides, Eusebius and Macarius

Saint ApaTer, Susennius, Theodore the *Oriental*

These are the seven illuminating *lamps* that extremely shine in Antioch

These are the seven strong *pillars* established in the king’s *palace*

These are the chosen *branches*, blossoming and brought forth *fruit*<sup>8</sup>

These are the mighty great *warriors* in *wars*

They fought for (the sake of the) name of my Lord Jesus. They are feasting with *Christ* in His kingdom

Through the *prayers* of the seven *generals*, Lord grant...

<sup>7</sup> A kind of sweet noodles.

<sup>8</sup> Quotation from the ninth part of the Sunday’s Theotokia cf. Nahdat ‘I-Kanais, πάϲωμ ντε τψαλμοτια, 123.

## Commentary

### I. Hagiographical Commentary

This doxology mentions only seven generals while some members of this family are omitted such as: Victor son of Romanus, Claudius of Antioch, and Apoli (sometimes Leontius), who are mentioned in the *memento sanctorum*.

**Justus**<sup>9</sup>, (10 Amshir) His martyrdom is known in both Sahidic<sup>10</sup> and Bohairic<sup>11</sup> dialects. This saint is not Justus who is commemorated on the 14 Hathor according to the Oxyrhynchus Calendar. Some oil lamps bear the inscription “of saint Justus”. His name occurs also in some prayers<sup>12</sup>.

**Basilides**: (11 Tut) We do not have any special text but his name appears in several acts of martyrs such as the life of Eusebius.

**Eusebius**<sup>13</sup>: (23 Amshir) His martyrdom is known in Bohairic text<sup>14</sup> in companionship of Claudius, ApaTer, Theodore The Oriental, and Justus.

**Macarius**<sup>15</sup>: (22 Abib) His martyrdom, attributed to Julius of Akfahs, is only preserved in Bohairic<sup>16</sup>. The text belongs to the third group of the corpus of Julius of Akfahs, which is characterized by exaggeration<sup>17</sup>. Most likely this text was written in the monastery of Saint Macarius at a very late date the author had access to several Coptic texts such as the acts of Victor, ApaTer and Iraie, Isidore. However Macarius’ cult is attested in a Papyrus from the VI century in the province of Aphrodito<sup>18</sup>.

**ApaTer**<sup>19</sup>: (28 Tut) The text of his Passion is extant, both in a Sahidic<sup>20</sup> and Bohairic versions<sup>21</sup> However nothing is known about his cult<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Orlandi, “Justus, Saint”, *Copt.Enc.* V, 1386-1387.

<sup>10</sup> Winstedt, *Coptic Texts*, 188-199.

<sup>11</sup> Evelyn White, *New Coptic Texts*, 78-82.

<sup>12</sup> Papacostantinou, *Le culte*, 108-109.

<sup>13</sup> Orlandi, “Eusebius, Saint”, *Copt.Enc.* IV, 1069-1070.

<sup>14</sup> Hyvernat, *Les Actes*, 1-39.

<sup>15</sup> Orlandi, “Macarius, Saint”, *Copt.Enc.* V, 1489.

<sup>16</sup> Hyvernat, *Les Actes*, 40-77.

<sup>17</sup> Youssef, *Recherches*, 190-219; for a book review cf. Coquin et al., “Recherches”, 145-153.

<sup>18</sup> Papacostantinou, *Le culte*, 140.

<sup>19</sup> Orlandi, “Ter and Erai, Saints”, *Copt.Enc.* VII, 2209.

<sup>20</sup> Orlandi, *Papiri copti*, K 2563 a-l; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Copte 129<sup>16</sup> fol. 104.

<sup>21</sup> Hyvernat, *Les Actes*. Roma, Bibliotheca Vaticana, Copt. 63, fols. 1-65.

<sup>22</sup> Papacostantinou, *Le culte*, 91-92 mentioned only Herai his sister, or perhaps, another Hirais of Memphis.

**Susennius:** (26 Barmudah) only few Coptic fragments of the martyrdom of Susennios survived.<sup>23</sup> His biography is known in Greek. His commemoration is the 26 of Barmudah, and the following day 27 Barmudah is the commemoration of Victor son of Romanus who is considered as a member of the Basilides group, while Susennios is not considered elsewhere in connection with this family. It seems that the author of this doxology had substituted the name of Victor by that Susennios. If this is the case then the doxology should have been composed in a late date to the Synaxarium. This saint is one of the equestrian saints invoked for the magical rites<sup>24</sup>. There is a wall painting from Bawit depicting him. A lamp with an inscription “Lamp of saint Sisinius”<sup>25</sup>.

**Theodore the Oriental**<sup>26</sup>: (12 Tubah) Many manuscripts both Bohairic<sup>27</sup> and Sahidic<sup>28</sup> transmitted his acts. For a long time it has been admitted that the legend of Theodore the Oriental was a Coptic legend<sup>29</sup>, however the two puns in the Coptic martyrdom demonstrates clearly that this text was originally written in Greek<sup>30</sup>. In some versions, he is linked to the Basilides Family being the son, Basilides’s colleague, Sadrikhos and His mother is Patricia, Basilides’s sister<sup>31</sup>. He is one of the popular saints in Egypt<sup>32</sup>.

The psali Adam for the *memento Sanctorum* mentions the Antiochene saints:

πιαστασιος<sup>33</sup> κυρι κλαγδιοс нем φιλοθεос πιαλοу  
νдикеос ρафи соγсеннюс етаqшарι мпиверзелю  
ρафи κүри ιογтос нем апали нем θекла нем αποллониос  
твнк ω πатир пеже πенсвтнр би ниран тексвни  
машенак εхнми

<sup>23</sup> Lemm, “Berlelia”, 499-501. Delahaye, “Les Martyrs”, 75, 103, 129, 137.

<sup>24</sup> Meyer, “Les rituals”, 103-104.

<sup>25</sup> Papaconstantinou, *Le culte*, 190.

<sup>26</sup> Orlandi, “Theodorus, Saint”, *Copt. Enc.* VII, 2237-2238.

<sup>27</sup> Rom, Bibliotheca Vaticana, Copt. 66, fols. 172-98, ed. Balestri/Hyvernat, *Acta Martyrum*, 34.

<sup>28</sup> New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 586.

<sup>29</sup> Delahaye, “Les Martyrs”, 5-154; 299-364.

<sup>30</sup> Youssef, “La genèse”, 107-110.

<sup>31</sup> O’Leary, *Saints of Egypt*, 265-266.

<sup>32</sup> Attested in many documents cf. Papaconstantinou, *Le culte*, 96-100.

<sup>33</sup> Read πιεγстәенс.

γιαονη ντε παικοσμος νεμ νεφλογισμος αφχαγ νχε  
βασιλιτης πινιωτη ναθλητης φηεθη νρεννεос πι-  
 χωρι нанатолеос αφερφορин мпихлом зен тշрω  
 нхрѡм<sup>34</sup>

The *steadfast Lord Claudius*, and the *righteous boy Philotheus Rejoice Susennios* who stroke the *bloodsucker*, rejoice *lord Justus, Apali and Theocleia*.

Sublime is the honours of these *saints* Apaese, Thecla and Apollonius

Arise, o ApaTer, said our *Saviour*, take Iraie and go to Egypt  
 Basilides, the great *fighter* detested *pleasure* of this *World* and its *wisdom*.

The saint, *noble* and mighty, (Theodore) the *Oriental*, *wore* the crown in the flame of fire.

The doxology Batos mentions also

соуценнюс пистратилатиc нeoq аqшari мвeрзelia  
 пiaгioc кyri iостoc нeм apoli нeм eзoklia  
 тaio nивeн eзaneу a<sup>35</sup> вaцилитиc aqemпwa мmwoy  
 нeм eзeвиoc нeм макариoc aчeрмпwa мpaiниwт  
 nwoy  
 yппe гap a pенсaтhр сaxi нeмak кyri apatihр xе  
 тaонk бi нирaн tекcвnи maшeнаk eтxвra нxhmi<sup>36</sup>

Susennios the *general* is the one who stroke down the *bloodsucker*; *saint lord Justus* and *Apoli* and *Theoclia*

Basilides is worthy of all beautiful honours; and Eusebius and Macarius are worthy of this great glory.

Behold *for the Saviour* spoke with you, lord ApaTer: “Arise and take Iraie, your sister and go to Egypt.”

The doxology Batos for the Seven Martyrs, the Generals, described by ‘Abd al-Masih give a different list of names including: Victor, Claudius, ApaTer and Iraie his sister and the concluding stanza is dedicated “victorious martyrs, the seven Children of Ephesus”<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> Labib, *†ψaλmoδia*, 525-526

<sup>35</sup> Sic. The auxiliary verb should be omitted.

<sup>36</sup> Labib, *†ψaλmoδia*, 527-528

<sup>37</sup> ‘Abd al-Masih, “Bihairic Doxologies II”, 150.

## II. Thematical Commentary

Our text contains a meditation to the name of My Lord Christ

**αγμιψι εχεν πιραν нтє παбс iиc αγερψαι нem πхc  
δен тeфмeтоуpo**

They **fought for my Lord Jesus' name sake**. They feast with *Christ* in His kingdom

The meditation of “Jesus Christ name” is frequent in the daily psalis<sup>38</sup>; and it goes back to the fifth century among the Egyptian monks<sup>39</sup>.

## III. Iconographical Commentary

The cult of the equestrian saints is well represented in the Coptic Art we can mention:

*The wall paintings of the monastery of al-Suriani*: we find two equestrian saints<sup>40</sup>.

*The wall paintings of the Church of Saint Antony*, which were painted by Theodore in the years 1232-1233 AD show the following equestrian saints: **Theodore the Anatolian** (the Oriental), Claudius, Victor, Menas, Theodore the general; **Sussinius**, John of Heraclea, George, Phoebamon of Ausim<sup>41</sup>.

*The church of the monastery of Martyrs near Esna*, which is dated 1129/1130 or 1179/1180 has Theodore the General, Caudius and one anonymous equestrian saint.<sup>42</sup>

*The wall painting of the Keep of the monastery of Saint Macarius*, which were painted by the monk Tekle the Abyssinian in the year 1517 AD, show **Basilides, Eusebios, Macarius, Justus** and Apoli<sup>43</sup>.

*The wall painting of the church of the monastery of Saint Paul*, the narthex has wall painting of the equestrian saints, which are dated early eighteen century (1713 AD). The names of the saints are **ApaTer** and

<sup>38</sup> Lanne, “La prière”, 163-203 and reprint (1997), 307-338.

<sup>39</sup> Guillaumont, *Monachisme chrétien*, 168-183. Some ameliorations in Kasser, “La prière”, 407-410.

<sup>40</sup> Innemée/Van Rompay, “Deir al-Surian”.

<sup>41</sup> Bolman, *Monastic Visions*, 91-93.

<sup>42</sup> Leroy, *Les peintures I*, 33, 39-48.

<sup>43</sup> Leroy, *Les peintures II*, 46-47; 113-114.

Iraie, Julius of Akfahs, Saint Menas, Saint James the Persian, Apa-Ishyron, Isidore, saint Victor, **Theodore** the general, saint George<sup>44</sup>.

*The wall painting of the church of the Archangel Gabriel at the monastery Naqlun*, we find three martyrs on horseback one of which is Saint Pichoshe according to the inscription the two others are anonymous, they may be Mercurius<sup>45</sup> or Claudius<sup>46</sup>.

*The icon of the equestrian saints is preserved in the church of Abu Seifein* originally had ten saints but only six are preserved i.e. Philotheus, Victor, Menas, **Theodore**, George, and Isaak. The icon is dated on the basis of the art history to the thirteenth century<sup>47</sup>.

The monastery of Bawit had a wall painting representing saint Sennios with an angel and the **ΒΕΡΞΕΛΙΑ**<sup>48</sup>.

Each one of these equestrian representations makes their own selection by adding or omitting some saints.

#### IV. Commentary on Martyrdoms

The Book of the *Churches and Monasteries* attributed to Abu al-Makarim<sup>49</sup> mentioned among the generals of Antioch:

**ApaTer** (I, fol 1:50b) Church of Shubra al-Kum from the Island of Bani Nasr, the Church of ApaTer the martyr, who was a vizier of Diocletian the Apostate, when he (ApaTer) watched the endurance of the martyrs and their miracles as well as their suffering for Christ, till martyrdom, (with a good reasoning) that led him to confess the name of Christ and he was beheaded by sword and received the crown of martyrdom.

**Susinius** (III, fol. 148b) Church of the martyr Susinius in Antioch, Me (Susennius) is commemorated on the 26 of Barmudah, this (church) was built by Aristochus after the perdition of Diocletian the atheist....

<sup>44</sup> Moorsel, van, “Le monastère”, 98-116.

<sup>45</sup> Godlewski, “Ancient Monastery”, 165.

<sup>46</sup> Paradowska, “Preservation”, 281.

<sup>47</sup> Skalova/Gabra, *Icons*, 184-186.

<sup>48</sup> Clédat, “La Nécropole”, 80; 28.

<sup>49</sup> Our references refer to the edition of al-Suriani, *Tarikh*, 4 Vol., and also Evetts/Butler, *Churches*. For specific studies cf. al-Suriani, “Icônes”, 78. (For codicology and Composition) Zanetti, “Abu L-Makarim”, 85-133. (For the Authorship and Influence) Den Heijer, “Composition”, 209-219. (Social study of the Delta) Martin, “Le Delta Chrétien”, 181-199; “Alexandrie chrétienne”, 45-49; “Chrétiens”, 83-92. Youssef, “Multiconfessional churches”, 45-54.

In Cairo, only two churches are named after Theodore while only one named after Apoli and Claudius<sup>50</sup>.

Actually only Theodore has some churches named after him<sup>51</sup> and only out of this list Saint Theodore has a pilgrimage site<sup>52</sup>.

In his homily on *Severus of Antioch*, the bishop of Assiut John gave another list of martyrs<sup>53</sup>, where he mentioned

“And some of these still exist to this day: the church of lord **ApaTer** and his sister Iraë which has in its midst the body of my lord Claudius the son of the king, **Theodore the son of Basilides**, which restores health to everyone faithfully requesting healing; and the church of my lord Isidore son of Panteleon and the palace of my lord, Mar Victor and the house of the martyr,\* my lord, **Theodore** the guardian<sup>54</sup> of the land of Egypt, on the east side of the river in Bar Shutb, his father ‘s city, which is also in the vicinity of Assiut — he was also brought up in the city of Antioch; and the rest of the martyrs of the city of Antioch, whose churches in the city of Assiut were destroyed<sup>55</sup>. Altars were erected for them in the church of the First Born, not by human hand, but by the hand of the highest power in that great city whose altar is the True Lamb; as John, son of thunder, said in the Apocalypse (Rev 21:22) and as the Apostle Paul said concerning the destruction of their palaces in Antioch: “For here, we have no lasting city” (Heb 13:14) but they had hope for the Living God who give life to all people.”

## Conclusion

The author of this doxology is related to monastic circles hence we find the meditation to the Jesus name. The selection of saints shows that he was from Middle Egypt, hence we find the name **Susennios** commemorated in Bawit, **Theodore** and **ApaTer** in Assiut. He became a monk in the monastery of Saint Macarius hence we find some saints of Lower Egypt such as **Macarius**, **Eusebius**, **Basilides**, where the wall painting of the Qasr represents the same selction. The funny notes in the beginning of the manuscript shows that he was in a time of poverty.

This text shows an independent tradition from the Magma’ tradition. He should live around sixteenth century (the time of execution of the wall painting of the Qasr of Saint Macarius).

<sup>50</sup> Martin, “Dévotions populaires”, 313-320.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. al-Syriani/Habib, *Guide*, 4 Muna al-Amir, 50, 57, 84, 88, 98, 106, 109, 129, 167.

<sup>52</sup> Viaud, *Les Pèlerinage*, 45, 61 and for saint Victor p. 51.

<sup>53</sup> Youssef, “A homily” (Forthcoming).

<sup>54</sup> Taking the role of the Ancient Egyptian god Khnoum, cf. Youssef, “Autres exemples”, 157-160.

<sup>55</sup> Sic. Meaning that their churches in Assiut were destroyed as well as in Antioch.

### Appendix Doxologies and Psalies

Name	Synaxarium	Doxology	Psali	Difnar
Basilides	11 Tut	---	---	O'Leary I, p. 9
ApaTer	28 Tut	---	Philotheus 77, 84 (Hermina)	O'Leary I, p. 24-25
Theodore the Oriental <sup>56</sup>	12 Tubah	BSAC 6(1940) 46	Philotheus 370-376 (Nicodemus)	O'Leary II, p. 12-14
Justus,	10 Amshir	BSAC 11(1945) 103	---	O'Leary II, p. 41
Eusebius	23 Amshir	---	---	O'Leary II, p. 52-53
Susennius	26 Barmudah	BSAC 11(1945) 113-114	---	O'Leary II, p. 113-114
Macarius	22 Abib	---	---	O'Leary III, p. 34

### Bibliography

- Abd al-Masih, Y. "Doxologies in the Coptic Church." *BSAC* 4 (1938), 97-113.
- . "Doxologies in the Coptic Church, Unedited Bihairic Doxologies I (Tût - Kyahk)." *BSAC* 8 (1942), 31-61.
- . "Doxologies in the Coptic Church, Unedited Bihairic Doxologies II (Tûbah-an-Nasî)." *BSAC* 11 (1946/1947), 95-158.
- Balestri, I./Hyvernat, H. *Acta Martyrum*. CSCO 43 (1908).
- Bolman, E. *Monastic Visions. Wall painting in the Monastery of Saint Antony at the Red Sea*. American Research Centre Egypt and Yale University 2001.
- Butler see Evetts.
- Clédat, J. "La Nécropole de Baouit." MIFAO 12 (1908), 28-88.
- Coquin, R.G./Youssef, Y.N. "Recherches sur Jules d'Akfahs, Université de Montpellier III, 1993." *BSAC* 37 (1998), 145-153.
- Delahaye, H. "Les Martyrs d'Egypte." *AnBoll* 40 (1922) 5-154; 299-364.
- Delaporte, L. *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits Coptes de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. Première Partie. Manuscrits Bohairiques*. Paris 1912.
- Den Heijer, J. "The Composition of the History of the Churches and Monasteries of Egypt -Some preliminary remarks." In: Acts of the Fifth International Congress of Coptic Studies Washington 12-15 August 1992, ed. by D. Johnson, Vol. 2, Part 1. Roma 1993, 209-219.
- Evetts, B.T. /Butler, A.J. *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and some Neighbouring countries, attributed to Abû Salih the Armenian*. Oxford 1895.
- Horn, J. *Untersuchungen zur Frömmigkeit und Literatur der christlichen Ägypter — das Martyrium des Viktor, Sohnes des Romanos*. Göttingen 1988.

<sup>56</sup> The unique martyr of this Group who has relics cf. Meinardus, *Christian Egypt*, 191.

- Evelyn White, H.G. *New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius.* New York, 1926.
- Godlewski, W. "Excavating the Ancient Monastery at Naqlun." In: *Christianity and Monasticism in the Fayoum Oasis.* Ed. by G. Gabra. Cairo-New York 2005, 155-171.
- Guillaumont, A. *Aux origines du monachisme chrétien. Spiritualité Orientale N°30.* Bellefontaine 1979.
- Hyvernat, H. *Les Actes des martyrs de l'Egypte tirés des manuscrits coptes de la Bibliothèque Vaticane et du Musée Borgia.* Paris 1886-1887.
- Innemée, K.C./Van Rompay, L. "Deir al-Surian (Egypt): New Discoveries of 2001-2002." *Journal of Syriac Studies* 5/2 (2002).  
<http://syrcom.cua.edu/Hugoye/Vol15No2/HV5N2InnemeVanRompay.html>
- Kasser, R. "La 'Prière de Jésus' kelliote." *OCP* 62 (1996), 407-410.
- Labib, K. *†ψαλμοδιά ἐθύ οὐτε πλαύτον χοιάκ* [The holy Psalmody for the month of Kihak]. Cairo 1911-1922.
- Lanne, E. "La prière de Jésus dans la tradition égyptienne. Témoignage des psalies et des inscriptions." *Irénikon* 50 (1977), 163-203. Repr. Leuven 1997, 307-338.
- Lemm, O. von. "Berlelia und Sisinis Koptische Studien 19." *BAISP* 6 (1907), 499-501.
- Leroy, J. *Les peintures des couvents du désert d'Esna. La peinture murale chez les coptes.* I. Le Caire 1975.
- . *Les peintures des couvents du Ouadi Natroun. La peinture murale chez les Coptes.* II. MIFAO 101 (1982).
- Martin, M. "Le Delta chrétien à la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> s." *OCP* 63 (1997), 181-199.
- . "Alexandrie chrétienne à la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> d'après Abû l-Makârim." In: *Alexandrie médiévale* 1, ed. by C. Décobert and J.Y. Empereur. *Etudes alexandrines* 3. Cairo 1998, 45-49.
- . "Chrétiens et musulmans à la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle." In: *Valeur et distance: Identités et Sociétés en Egypte.* Paris 2000, 83-92.
- . "Dévotions populaires au Caire à la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle." In: *Aegyptus Christiana, Mélanges d'Hagiographie Egyptienne et Orientale dédiés à la mémoire du P. P.Devos Bollandiste.* *COr* 25 (2004), 313-320.
- Meinardus, O.F.A. *Christian Egypt, Faith and life.* Cairo 1970.
- . *Coptic Saints and Pilgrimages.* Cairo 2002.
- Meyer, M. "Les rituels de la magie Copte." In: *L'Art Copte en Egypte 2000 ans de Christianisme.* Paris 2000, 103-104.
- Moorsel, van P. "Le monastère de Saint-Paul près de la Mer Rouge." MIFAO 120 (2002), 98-116.
- Nahdat 'l-Kanaïs. *πχωμ οὐτε †ψαλμοτιά εθογυάς οὐτε μρομπί μφρητ εταγθαώς οὐχε νενιοτή ητεκκλησία νρεμνχημι οπρθοδοζος* [The book of the holy Psalmody for the year according

- to what is established by the Fathers of the Coptic Orthodox Church].*  
Cairo 1949.
- O'Leary, de L. *The Saints of Egypt*. London-New York 1937.
- Orlandi, T. *Papiri copti di contenuto teologico*. MPER NS 9 (1974).
- . “Eusebius, Saint.” In: *Copt.Enc.* IV, 1069-1070.
  - . “Hagiography, Coptic.” In: *Copt.Enc.* IV, 1191-1197.
  - . “Justus, Saint.” In: *Copt.Enc.* V, 1386-1387.
  - . “Macarius, Saint.” In: *Copt.Enc.* V, 1489.
  - . “Ter and Erai, Saints.” In: *Copt.Enc.* VII, 2209.
  - . “Theodorus, Saint.” In: *Copt.Enc.* VII, 2237-2238.
- Papaconstantinou, A. *Le culte des saints en Egypte des Byzantins aux Abbassides, l'apport des inscriptions et des papyrus grecs et coptes*. Paris 2001.
- Paradowska, E. “Preservation of the Wall paintings in the Church of the Archangel Gabriel at Naqlun.” In: *Christianity and Monasticism in the Fayoum Oasis*. Ed. by G. Gabra. Cairo-New York 2005, 279-287.
- Al-Suriani, S. *Tarikh al-kana'is wal-'adyara*. Cairo 1984.
- . “Icônes et iconographie d'après le manuscrit d'Abu el-Makarim, publié en arabe au Caire 1984.” *Le Monde Copte* 18 (1990), 78.
- Al-Syriani, S./Habib, B. *Guide to Ancient Coptic Churches and Monasteries in Upper Egypt*. Cairo 1990.
- Skalova, Z./Gabra, G. *Icons of the Nile Valley*. Cairo 2003.
- Viaud, G. *Les Pèlerinage Coptes en Egypte*. BEC 15 (1979).
- Winstedt, E.O. *Coptic Texts on Saint Theodore*. London 1910, repr. Amsterdam 1984.
- Youssef, Y.N. “La genèse de la légende sur le roi Dioclétien.” *BSAC* 28 (1986-1989), 107-110.
- . *Recherches sur Jules d'Akfahs*. Mpontpellier III, 1993.
  - . “Multiconfessional churches in Egypt during the XII Century.” *Bulletin of Saint Shenouda the Archmandrite Coptic Society* 5 (1998-1999), 45-54.
  - . “Autres exemples, de la christianisation des fêtes de l'ancienne Egypte.” *BSAC* 28 (1999), 157-160.
  - . “Notes on the Magma' (mementa sanctorum) and the Athanasius prayer in the Coptic Psalmodia.” *JcoptS* 7 (2005), 111-124.
  - . “A homily on Severus of Antioch by John Bishop of Assiut.” *PO* 50 Fasc. 1 N° 222 (2006).
- Zanetti, U. “Abu L-Makarim et Abu Salih.” *BSAC* 34 (1995), 85-133.

Youhanna Nessim Youssef  
 53 Stanton St.  
 Doncaster  
 VIC 3108  
 Australia